/345 cont./

433 224 198 Outside these official expeditions they doubtless used to hunt for pleasure or simply to interrupt the monotony of their menu.

224 411 [223] Quadrupeds were killed with arrows with lanceolate tips, originally of wood, today of iron (Plates VIII and IX, 2); small game, with arrows tipped with a barbed wooden rod (Plate IX, 3-5). Birds were taken in traps or felled with a special arrow having a splayed ferrule (Plates X-XI).

224 [231] Anyone who has seen the little dogs of the Chiriguano Indians, with elongated /346/ muzzle, pointed ears, short hair, and arched tail will ask with surprise how animals so miserable, stupid, and snappish could have been trained to render service to man. Nevertheless, such seems to have been the case. For hunting the peccary, for example, the Indians employ the dogs, who track them and /Figs. 12 and 13 appear here/ force them to hide in their dens, from which they are smoked out and felled with blows of a stick when they try to run away. At least this is how the inhabitants of the village of Saladito (upper Pilcomayo) told me they had killed a peccary which they showed me at the time I was there.

433 224 ● 184 For the modern Chiriguano, hunting has lost its reason for existing as an activity having an economic character, except perhaps /Plates VIII, IX, X, and XI appear here/ /347/ /Fig. 14 appears here/ for those of this nation who live in the region of the upper Pilcomayo. At least this is the impression I had after examining their huts: the bedsteads or wooden cots were often covered with peccary skins and the old deerhorn awls (Fig. 12) numerous enough to be able to be exchanged for a trifle. The relative abundance of these objects proves that among these Indians hunting has not been relegated /Fig. 15 appears here/ to the rank of a simple sport and that it keeps, at least in part, its past importance.

[352] [412] [799] [411] The contrast is striking if one then goes into the zone of the Franciscan missions: there, more peccary skins, more perforators made of deerhorn, more ostrich feathers. In the villages of the upper Pilcomayo there is no cabin, poor as it may be, in which a bow and a bundle of arrows are not slipped

[Text Continues on P. 89]

/347 cont./

433 224 184 [411] between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnographer will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him, they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

224 411 184 The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendí are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.). They are long reeds armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate IX, 1). One must not conclude that the yakú, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is [433] scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for [126] fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handsomest lot of [425] these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

857 868 224 Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shooting with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XII, 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

223 [126] Some Indians of the Caipipendí valley sold me large bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region; in a month's stay I 287 439 did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

[Text continues on p. 91]

1: Métraux--157 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Chaco Indians SK4

C
Ce
/387 cont./
386
323
171
This makes me think that glazing implies a technical process analogous to the one in use on the upper Pilcomayo.

Ce
C.I
323
The Chaco Indians draw crude decorations on their vessels with palo santo resin, which they apply after firing. According to Nordenskiöld (id. supra), the Chané of the Itiyuro probably use the same method to decorate some of their vessels with black designs.

C
323
After being painted, the vessel is put in the shade to dry for several days. It is only when the sides have acquired a certain hardness that the firing process is begun. The vessels are then taken to a spot where there is plenty of dead wood. A large quantity is collected, with which the vessels are covered from bottom to top. Generally, long pieces of bark are selected, which burn brightly.

They set fire to this pyramid of wood and, with a long pole, the /388/ potter watches to see that no brand burns directly against the walls, which would bring on a "shot of fire." When she ascertains that a vessel gives a metallic sound on being touched, she scatters the firebrands with her pole and, by rolling it, makes it go out of the fire.

It may happen that in the course of the firing a vessel may suffer some cracking. This is remedied by taking a little moist earth mixed with dung and applying it on the split while the vase is still hot. The fissure closes, but remains noticeable.

Classification of Chiriguano Pottery

C
415
The figures which illustrate this text, the plates published by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 155-162), and the diagram of Outes (3) give a better idea of the more common forms of this pottery than any description. However, a few remarks are called for.

C
[184]
Vessels with a subglobular belly surmounted by a low, wide neck flaring at the top constitute, without doubt, the most widespread type. (Plates XXXV-LVII.)

/388 cont./

415 The footed bowl or "compote" (Fig. 72) comes from the
● 184 Caipipendí valley, the same as the vessel with ribbed belly of Plate XXVI, 2. These are the only specimens of this type that I found in the whole Chiriguano country.

415 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic vessels are rare. Scarcely
184 anywhere but in the Caipipendí valley is corn beer ordinarily
532 served you in vessels shaped like a bull. Besides, their workmanship is careless. The admirable anthropomorphic vessel of Plate XXVI, 1 is an exceptional piece.

415 Twinned vessels (Plate XXVII, 3) and those which a constriction separates into two bodies (Figs. 74, 75, and Plate XXVII, 1) are very rare.

415 The motifs painted on Chiriguano vessels most often are
531 of a purely geometric nature.

There are few exceptions to this rule. As an example of them, I shall give the large yambuí of Plate LII, 1, on the belly of which have been painted more or less stylized dogs, chickens, and toads; the yambuí of Figure 83, whose principal decoration is composed of a series of yakú (pavo del monte /wild turkey/, Penelope spec.); and finally several vessels in my collections, which I did not want to publish because of their completely Europeanized form. On one of them silhouettes of nandus are distinguishable (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 222) and on another have been drawn a man and woman whose hands are united by a red line (symbol of marriage, of love?).

I remember having seen on a jar in the Caipipendí valley /389/ nandus drawn with particular skill. I would gladly have bought that piece if it had been possible to arrange its transportation.

[178] The vessel of Figure 83 $\frac{1}{A}$ gives an excellent idea of what Chiriguano potters could do in the "realistic" genre if a long /Fig. 61 appears here/ tradition did not oblige them to limit themselves to the representation of geometric motifs.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See P 249, Category 116--Analyst]

/390 cont./

000 Ce 415 531 177 532 the tourists. In this respect Nordenskiöld (10, Fig. 28, p. 137) was more fortunate than I: among the Chané of the Parapití he was able to acquire a pot on which one distinguishes a nose in relief and the organs of the face painted in a conventional fashion, but in which the Andean influence is clearly reflected.

C 531 415 184 Each region, often even each village, has its special style, and this varies again according to the fancy or skill of each potter. The differences are often sufficiently accentuated to permit an ethnographer with some experience to recognize the provenance of each piece at first glance.

From the point of view of decorative style, the Chiriguano country is divided into three zones, whose characteristics are the following:

On the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental element of decoration is the spiral in the form of a couchant S which is combined with the volute of another color taking off from the apex of a triangle (see, for example: Plate XXXV; XXXVI, 1; XXXVII, 2; Plates XLVII-L, etc. /see pp. 211 ff. and pp. 226 ff./

This motif is arranged in parallel zones framed by geometric figures (festooned lines, alternate triangles, barbed strokes, etc. (see, for example: Plate XXXVII, 1 /see p. 213/; Plate XXXIX, 2, /see p. 215 /; Plate XL, 2 /see p. 216 /; Plate XLIV, 2 /see p. 220/. Rare are the pieces of this zone whose principal decoration does not consist of variously combined spirals. The style of the pottery I collected in the Igüembé valley differs only a little from that of the upper Pilcomayo: we find the same principal elements without, however, the spiral playing a predominant role (Plate XXXIX, 1; Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 2; XLVIII, 4; Plate LI, 1-3; LIV, 2).

C 531 415 184 Ce 531 415 The pottery made by the Chiriguano of the Ivu, Macharetí, and Tarairí missions and by the Chané of the Itiyuro reveals a special predilection for linear motifs standing out in black against a yellowish background. These are ascending and descending lines which run around the belly of the vessel forming large triangles, and something of a kind, which, in turn, end in Greek frets or spirals. The triangle

C
531
415
184
Ce
531
415

/390 cont./ surmounted by a volute is a motif which appears often in this region. Triangles with a solid surface combine to form either denticulate bands or somewhat hourglass-shaped figures whose effect is pleasing to the eye (Plate XXXIX, 1: Plate XL, 2; Plate XLI; Plate XLII, 1; Plate XLIII, 1; Plate LII; Plate LIV, 1 and 3-4; LVII, 3-4; LV, 1 and 3, etc.).

C
Ce
531
415
[323]

Between the Chané vessels (Plate XXXVIII, 1; Plate LIII, 1-3) and the Chiriguano ones in the missions there are some differences which have less to do with the choice of motifs than with the manner in which they are treated. The Chané women have a purer taste and they evince greater sureness /391/ of hand than the Chiriguano potters. One senses clearly that the latter are only their pupils.

C
531
415
184

It is difficult for me to say what decorative style might have been in vogue in former times in the Caipipendí valley (Plate LVII, 2; Plate LX, 4; and Fig. 72). Painted vessels have become rare there, and the few examples I saw or acquired were in very bad condition. As elsewhere, they were covered with geometric figures: broken lines, triangles, /Fig. 62 appears here/ festooned bands, etc. The individuality of Caipipendí pottery shows itself more in the form of some vessels than in their decoration.

Ce
415
177
[131]
[114]
[511]

Since I could not visit the Chané of the lower Parapití, I have no idea of the characteristics of their pottery. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 144), who was more favored than I, declares that their pottery presents only a few traces of Andean influence, and he explains this fact by their isolation and poverty.

C
531
184

If now, instead of style, that is, the combination of motifs, we consider the latter in themselves, /392/ a feeling of unity will succeed our feeling of diversity. The same identical designs are repeated over the whole of Chiriguano territory, and only their relative frequency in a given area and the importance attributed to them to the exclusion of the others create these distinctions of style which I have tried /Fig. 63 appears here/ to define. Nevertheless, there are some decorative elements which are limited to a certain region: the spiral is

/392 cont./

531 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé
184 valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

323
415
291
516
142
302

Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

[126]

/396 cont./

323 178 Without wishing to pass as a prophet, I think I can assign five years of life to the artistic pottery of the Chiriguano. Already it is becoming difficult to make collections of it, at least collections having aesthetic value.

323 415 531

Fig. 66. Fabrication of a large vat: when dry, the clay is polished with a well-polished stone. The purpose of this operation is to avoid all porosity in the surface of the vessel.

415 198 184 323 The state of decline and regression in which Chiriguano pottery is found explains perhaps the decided differences often existing in the pottery of the various regions inhabited by the Chiriguano. Artists being few, it is not surprising that their output varies little and that, because of this, the vessels of one village are all very much alike.

C /396 cont./
323
415
198
184

In former times when artists were not lacking, the number of motifs used within each group must have been larger, and in this variety was doubtless found many an element which today seems to have disappeared, only to be met in another zone. It is probable that an ethnographer who might have made a collection among the Chiriguano a century ago would have established a classification other than the one I have tried to outline here.

C
Ce
415
17

Comparative Study of the Basic Elements of the Painted Pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians

1. The Problem of the Chincha Atacama Civilization

The pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané Indians shows such strong affinities with that of the ancient Andean populations from the point of view of form as well as decoration that their relationship cannot be doubted.

These analogies are especially striking among certain pieces /397/ of pottery dug up in the Quebrada de Humahuaca and the ones still made by Chiriguano or Chané women. With an interval of four centuries the resemblance between the pottery of these two regions is still so pronounced that it had attracted the attention of Mr. Debenedetti (2, pp. 134, 149, note 1, and 156), even though he apparently had for his whole basis of comparison only a few rare pieces of very simple Chiriguano pottery collected in the Chaco and of such uncertain provenance that one of them was attributed to the Choroti. The latter in reality, have pottery of an entirely different type, although also influenced by the Andean civilization.

O
Ce
[648]
[439]

The affinities of Chiriguano pottery with certain pottery of the Quebrada de Humahuaca have been scientifically established by Nordenskiöld (10, p. 143). This scholar explains these surprising similarities very naturally by the influence the Indians of the Humahuaca region had on their immediate neighbors, the Chané or Chiriguano, and by the trade relations these peoples maintained.

1: Métraux--196 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Arawakan Indians SR6
Guarani SM4
Peruvian Prehistory SE4
C 415 171 PP 415

/412 cont./

18. To put an end to these comparisons, I shall call attention to two vessels (Fig. 78 a and b), one acquired in Ivu in the Chaco and the other in Tacna, and dating from the Inca period (Uhle, 4, Plate XXVIII, 2). A simple glance at the two figures permits the establishment of their perfect identity.

C Ce 415 171

In short, from these comparisons and the ones we made on the subject of pottery in common use, we can draw the following conclusions: Chiriguano and Chané pottery is, from the morphological point of view, closely related to that of the ancient populations of southern Bolivia and northern Argentina and therefore offers numerous points of contact with the Chincha-Atacama civilizations. It still keeps traces of strong Inca influences (footed vessel (baker-shaped /in English/), aryballoid jars, ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels, bowls, etc.). The ancient Arawak ethnic substratum is manifested in this sphere by the survival of several special types of pottery (vessels in the form of beakers or bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly, vessels with three connecting bodies, etc.).

C Ce [179] A [415]

Ce G 415

The pottery in everyday use is clearly of Guarani inspiration and in its general features has remained identical to those of the ancient Guarani of Bolivia.

C 531 184

Comparative Study of the Principal Decorative Motifs of Chiriguano Pottery and That of the Neighboring Andean Peoples

The triangle with volute. In the region of the upper Pilcomayo the fundamental motif of pottery decoration is the triangle whose apex is prolonged in a volute or spiral (Plates XXXII-XXXIII, 136-199). This decorative element is repeated to repletion on all the vessels I collected from the village of Saladito to the valley of Igüembé. Elsewhere it becomes less frequent and takes on a more rudimentary form, which can be considered as further developed or degenerated.

[See PP. 200-201 -- Analyst]

/412 cont./

531 184 Even on the upper Pilcomayo this design occurs in many variations according to the place or the artists: on certain pieces the volute which prolongs the triangle is clearly drawn (Plate XXXV, 1; XXXVII, 2; XXXVIII, 2[1]; etc.); on others it is no more than a hook more or less closed (Plate XXXII, 137-151). This last case is more usual. Finally, the hook itself is drawn with so little care that it is transformed into the simple arc of a circle, then into a straight line prolonging one of the sides of the triangle (Fig. 78 a).

Some vessels, generally outside the upper Pilcomayo region, /Plates XXX-XXXIV appear here/ /413/ present the same motif, but instead of the hook or the spiral the potter has painted a fret element (Plate XLI, 2, and XLIII, 1; LIV, 1 and 4)[2] more or less well executed. Thus one can follow the evolution of the spiral to the fret by going from one point to another of Chiriguano territory.

Most often these triangles with a volute are arranged in two rows and face each other alternately. When such an arrangement occurs, the potter always takes care to draw, along the line forming the volute, a parallel line of a different color, which, after following the inflections of the volute, goes to join that of the facing triangle. The figure (Plate XXXIII,[3] 178-194) thus obtained is a double volute in the form of a couchant S. It is particularly characteristic of the pottery of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. This double volute perhaps can be treated as an independent decorative element, witness the yambui of Plate XXXVI, 2, and LI, 3.

531 Sometimes, but rarely, the triangle with a double volute is replaced by an angle whose sides, by being drawn out, form a continuous line which unites these motifs to each other (Plate XXXVI, 1; XLVII, 3; LIII, 3).[4]

[191] The origin of this motif is lost in the night of time. It appears already very stylized on the vessels of the Tiahuanaco period, coming from Tiahuanaco itself (Posnansky, Plate III, Figs. E and F) and from the Mizque valley (Nordenskiöld, 5, p. 95, Fig. 40).

[1] [See pp 211, 213 and 214 respectively--Analyst]
[2] [See pp. 217, 219 and 233 respectively--Analyst]
[3] [See p. 201 -- Analyst]
[4] [See pp 212, 226 and 232 respectively--Analyst]

C /421 cont./

531 The spiral as an independent decorative element has a
171 much less wide distribution than when it is combined with the triangle it surmounts. In the geographical area which interests us it is known only on some pieces from the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 41 and 42, pp. 72-73; Bregante, Figs. 176 and 179, pp. 170-171), on a calabash from Calama (Oyarzun, Fig. 10), from the Puna de Jujuy and from the valley of Yocavil (Ambrosetti, 4, Fig. 70, p. 68, and Fig. 69, p. 72, Vol. LIV), on a puco from Pabellon in the Santa Maria valley, Catamarca province (Outes, 1, p. 19, Fig. 13).

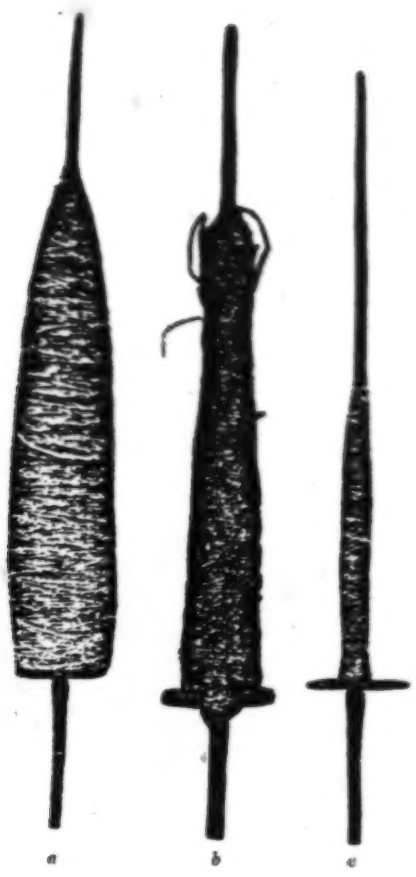
C
531 Angles, triangles, and zigzag lines (Plate XXX, 1-46, Plate XXXI, Figs. 71-108, 127). Nearly all the yambuí and yapepo which form my collections are decorated on the interior rim, at the base of the neck, or on the upper part of the belly with interlaced angles, with series of triangles painted on the surface, which form denticulate bands. This decorative theme, simple and a bit monotonous, varies from one specimen to the other, according to whether the field of the triangles is sprinkled or surrounded with dots, whether the apexes are joined by angles or arcs of a circle, or, finally, whether or not these triangles are bordered by a broken line which they face.

Triangles and zigzag lines only rarely constitute the
C
[184] fundamental decoration of vessels. On the upper Pilcomayo, the yambuí of Plate LIII, 4, is the only one exclusively decorated with triangular dots and parallel zigzag lines. Some pieces from Ivu and Caipipendí are characterized by the same simplicity.

C
531 At Tacna and Taltal the series of triangular dots con-
171 stituted a motif particularly dear to the populations of the
A Chincha-Atacama period (Uhle, 4, Plate XVII, Fig. 4; Plate
531 XVIII, Figs. 1, 2, and 4; Plate XIX; Fig. 1 a; Plate XXII,
172 Fig. 4; Plate XXIII, Figs. 3 and 4 and Figs. 21 and 22, pp. 40-41).

/434 cont./

283
413



[171]
[184]

Fig. 89. a, b, c. Chiriguano spindles of the bakaïri /Bacairi/ type. Prov.: a, Tasiti; b, Tintapaw; c, Tasiti (upper Pilcomayo). These spindles are provided with a groove in the upper part which allows the thread to be fastened. The whorls of a and b are of terra cotta, that of c of wood. (1/4 nat. size.)

Ce 101 194 /443 cont./ the center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

C 285 171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

C 285 184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbia) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

C [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the C [178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

/444 cont./

285 distribution of these two techniques must have been in former times.
184 We shall find this difficulty every time we consider the diffusion of a cultural element peculiar to these Indians.

285 Wicker work basketry has undergone strong European influence.
199 The agents have been the half-breeds of the department of Tarija, who live in constant contact with the Chiriguano. This foreign influence on the baskets belonging to this technique is manifested by modifications of the original forms and improvements of details, such as horseshoe handles.

285 Among the Chiriguano I did not find a single basket woven
171 with the technique called "in spirals" (coiled basketry /named in English/), although in olden times it was in use among the Andean populations who used to and still do live in contact with the Chiriguano. Basketwork "in spirals" has continued on the altiplano, as the basket of Fig. 103, which I bought in La Quiaca, proves.

Basketry in "Wicker Work"

285 Mason (p. 228) designates under the name of wicker basketry a type obtained with the following technique: a rigid framework composed of thick, solid elements is intercrossed by thinner, more flexible elements. In the course of this work I shall call warp the rigid elements of the framework, and the ones crossing them, woof. The woof passes alternately over and under each element of the warp. This technique is well known to us: it is that of our wicker baskets, trunks, and back baskets (see Fig. 105 /see p.295 /).

Because of its very simplicity we have a right to suppose that this technique is old. It is only a variety of checker work /named in English/, the most elementary of all the techniques. By checker work we understand the process which consists of interlacing flexible bands so as to obtain a checkerboard design. The only piece of basketry made with this technique that I know of in the region we are concerned with is a basket that Eric von Rosen

/460 cont./

Fans or Fire-blowers

C 372 184 [191]

Great was my surprise when upon arriving in the Chiriguano villages of the upper Pilcomayo region I found fire fans identical with those of the Indians of Brazil and the Guianas. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 56) barely mentions them and insists on their rarity. The fact is explained by the absence of this cultural element in all the rest of the zone inhabited by the Chiriguano. In most of the villages they use old hats or fragments of baskets to fan the fire.

C 372 285

Plate LXXXV. ½ Length, 28.5 centimeters; width, 31 centimeters. Provenance: Saladito.

The making of these fans is rather simple. The leaves composing them cross in a rhythm of two. On the edge the stalks have been bent back and, passing again across the fabric, are interlaced to form a pucker on each side. The free ends /Plates LXXXIII-LXXXV appear here/ /461/ have been plaited on top and one part passed into a split stick forming the handle (Fig. 117).

C [191]

An important remark must be made on the subject of these fans. They /Fig. 117 appears here/ differ little from the fans made of a single pinnate palm leaf, such as are found in Brazil and Paraguay. The Chiriguano, having no palm trees of this

C [824]

species in their new homeland, had to /Fig. 118 appears here/ adopt the palmate leaves of the karandaí. They replaced the petiole, which forms the handle, with the split stick to which I have alluded. (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 106 and 107, pp. 219-220.)

C 285 353 797 [824]

/462/

"Flowers"

On feast days the Chiriguano of the Franciscan missions decorate the church with artificial "flowers" which they make from leaves of karandaí palms. These decorations are of ancient origin and derive directly from the straw amusements /jeux/ still made by the Indians in various /Fig. 119 appears here/ regions of America, notably in the Guianas. The natives of the

G 285 353 ½

latter region often hang them in their houses where they perhaps

[See p. 322--Analyst]
[Text continues on p. 324]

/467 cont./

302 The women never cut their hair according to the custom of the other Indian women of the Chaco, so they have heads of long and remarkably soft hair. They gather their hair together [301] on the nape of the neck by means of a red or blue ribbon, which they knot on the forehead after passing it around the head (see Plate VI, 1 and 2 /see p. 73/).

302 Chiriguano women are extremely meticulous about their 515 hair and wash it nearly every day. For soap they use ñitira seeds. 824 412 388

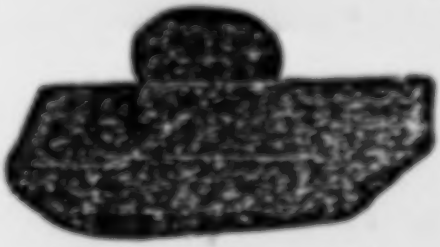


Fig. 122. Chiriguano stone mortar for crushing ñitira seeds. Prov.: Ivo. (About 1/4 nat. size.)

which they crush in a little mortar (Fig. 122) especially intended for that use. The ñitira seeds, rich in saponin, lather easily.

302 For me it was always a pleasant spectacle in the morning to see the women come back from the river with their hair twisted on the front of the head and fastened into a conical chignon. They would let it dry, then would begin to comb it slowly until it was soft and shining.

412 303 184 Two types of comb coexist among the Chiriguano. On the upper Pilcomayo in the Igüembé valley and in Ivu, they are carved out of a small board, and often the flat part which serves as the handle is cut out /468/ with art. In the Caipipendí valley and among the Chané, besides combs of the preceding type there are others composed of fine splinters of wood wedged between two splinters of bamboo and held in place by a clever plaiting of cotton thread forming a design.

Ac.Nino--233 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342
17
[124
248]

A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live: in the towns their houses are normal: they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are white-washed.

342
[192
184]

/171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, but. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342
335
496

I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 235]

/174 cont./

342 281 second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342 322 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342 177 178 Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But • 184) in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that 342 171 they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material + REMAINS JOINED BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

/184 cont./

323 [237] the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 462 [294] Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 286 231 249 [184] [177] Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites introduced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/197 cont./

301 562 [437] These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern, brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 184 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and so on with the rest which follow.

291 301 186 177 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower himself to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him. He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/209 cont./

843 262 415 [753] Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight, prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

● 184 846 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing, and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The [178] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/250 cont./

224
184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

[231]
[574]

Animals

231

From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugũi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

[197]

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226
184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby; when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter; they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex; they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[622] [178]

535 184 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the
● 184 hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of
173 the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbapa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837]

1. In the towns where the Mbapa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarise; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbapa páure

627
533
535 This is another piece of music which has been scored for a
[184] band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarise, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbapa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of
[539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Erecosiye mbapa páure -- Tirisoti, tirisoti -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeso, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbapa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/266 cont./

797
791

that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576

/267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177

If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648]

1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

/297/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648

The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161
464
466
648
Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
[184]
The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded; they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /298/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

797
291
177

/309 cont./
in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

ooo

[184]
[492]

2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the Franciscan missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[177] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

ooo

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today,

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,V(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C Ce 415 *171 [252] Only a few vessels are provided with ~~spouts~~ lips in rims which here seem to be an idea obtained by the Indians from the Whites.

Bowls with holes in the bottom which are used for steaming have already been mentioned in the foregoing. This applies also to bowls for the roasting of maize.

The Chané on the Rio Parapiti have small plates which they sometimes use in spinning. I have not seen the like elsewhere. Occasionally one sees, among the most civilized Chiriguano and Chané, fire-pans for holding hot water. C Ce [177] (Fig. 43,21). They must have obtained the idea from the Whites.

C Ce 323 The Chiriguano and Chané understand the art of painting earthenware before burning.[1]) I have already, in Part I, endeavoured to show the geographical distribution of this invention. Whether it was known to the Chané and Chiriguano before they settled in this tract cannot be decided. The pottery I found in the archaeological excavations at Caipipendi is unpainted.

C Ce [184] The Chané at Rio Itiyuro sometimes paint the edge of earthen vessels after burning with resin of palo santo. This is never seen among the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Parapiti. As such painting is common among several tribes in the Chaco, it is possible that the Chané at Rio Itiyuro got the idea from there. The Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro often varnish the painted vessels after burning with a kind of gum called by the Chiriguano — »taragüirisi».

The Chiriguano and Chané also ornament their earthenware by finger-impressions. This method of ornamentation has an eastern extension in S. America. A map showing its distribution is published in Part I.

The ornamentation painted on earthenware is seen in the illustrations. The Chané at Rio Parapiti usually have very plain ornamentation.

C Ce [237]

[1]) For this purpose brushes of Aguti hair are used. (See also WIENER P. 82).

2/A [erratum corrected, see errata sheet p. 245.]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

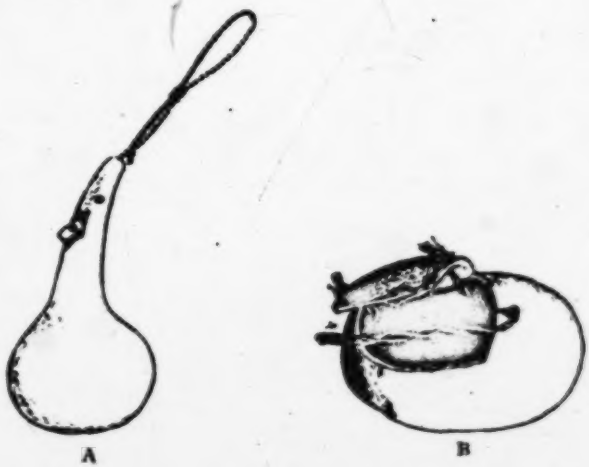
Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

C
Ce
531
*171

The Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are ornamented with engraved, burnt-in and painted figures. The distribution of engraved ornamentation cannot, at present be as certained. As I maintained in Part I, pyrograving seems to be a culture-element of western origin. The art of painting calabashes with urucu mixed with oil is unknown to the Choroti and Ashluslay, as also to the other Indians whom I got to know personally, with the exception of the Pauserna.

C
Ce
[415]



A B

Fig. 30. A. Calabash with lid. Chané, Rio Parapiti. R. M. P. 55. 1/6
B. » » » Chiriguano. R. M. P. 508. 1/6

In the absence of sufficient comparative material from the Andine culture-area, I will not here seek to establish whence the Chiriguano and Chané got the ornamentation which adorns their calabashes, nor in what measure it has been independently elaborated by them. A calabash with engraved animal figures is reproduced here.

C
Ce
415
531
184

The Chané who dwell at Rio Parapiti have but little ornamentation on their calabashes, and that little is plain.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

This contrasts with the Chiriguano and the Chané at Rio Itiyuro and is certainly owing to the poverty of the first-mentioned.

Sometimes the Chiriguano and Chané calabashes are surrounded by a net for greater convenience of carrying. I have already dealt with these in the foregoing.

The stoppers of calabash-bottles are generally pieces of empty corn-cobs. These are now and then used also as stoppers for earthen-vessels. The Choroti and Ashluslay, as a rule, make use of wax, which material is little used by the Chiriguano and Chané.

Fig. 51. Calabash. Chiriguano. R. M. 323. 1/6.

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

/171 cont./
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweetsop trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Choroti and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

/181 cont./

Branches of Subsistence Ee

Fishing and hunting do not play an important role among the Chané and Chiriguano. As I have mentioned before, they are farmers, primarily maize farmers. These Indians live so exclusively on maize that for them all other food plays a subordinate role. The Indians living on the Río Parapiti are an exception; they plant more sweet potatoes than maize, and these yield an excellent harvest in their country. 241 [226] [224] Ee [184] ● Ee 241

/182/ The following plants are grown by the Chané and Chiriguano:

Sweet potatoes.
Maize.
Squash (Cucurbita pepo Lin.).
Calabash fruits.
Beans of different varieties.
Cotton.
Urucú.
Tobacco.
Tuna (for example, at Yatavéri). Opuntia.
Millet.
Mandioca (rare).
Reed for arrow shafts (on the Río Parapiti).

In the plantings of these Indians I saw neither ordinary potatoes nor bananas. The sweet potatoes, according to Batirayu's statements, were introduced at a late period by the whites. Tobacco-raising is insignificant. The Chané and Chiriguano are not great smokers. They mostly smoke cigarettes in maize leaves, seldom pipes (Fig. 88). Among them one need not give his pipe to a neighbor for further smoking. Ee [137] [177] Ee 276

It is strange how the use of tobacco differs among the Indian tribes. The Aymara and Quichua /Quechua/, who chew coca, very seldom smoke. They have no taste for it. The Chacobo and Atsahuaca, two tribes with whom I became acquainted on my travels, smoked just as little. When I offered a Chacobo a Ee 276 171. ooo

C Ce 231 /187 cont./ the Chiriguano and Chané have fewer horses, cows, donkeys, sheep, and goats than the Choroti and Ashluslay. On the other hand, they have more chickens and pigs. Sometimes one sees ducks, guinea fowl, and turkeys. In certain regions, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley, where the Indians are wealthy, they also have much livestock. C Ce [184] [556] The whites, unfortunately, try in every way to cheat them out of what they have. Thus, it is not uncommon for a white man or a white woman to come into a village with a few kegs of spirits and to leave it with a couple of the best cows of the Indians. Ce [439] The whites are richer, the Indians poorer.

C 227

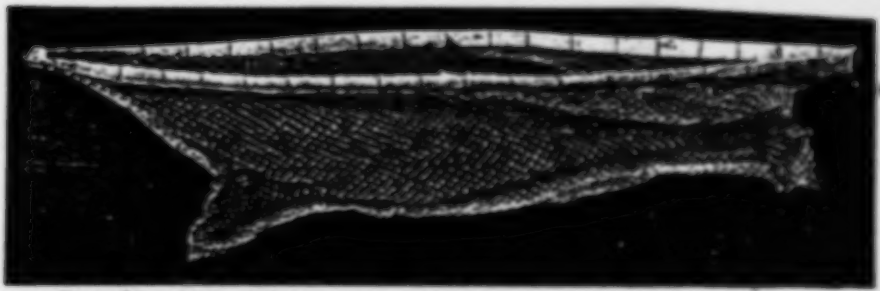


Fig. 91. Net. Chiriguano. Rio Parapiti. Ca. 1/12.

C Ce 231 171 The menagerie of tamed wild animals which one sees in the villages of the more primitive Indians is not to be found among /188/ these Indians. A parrot that talks a little Guarani, however, is not unusual in the huts.

Preparation of Food

C Ce 252 The dirt that we come across in the preparation of food and eating among the Choroti and Ashluslay is not found /Fig. 92a appears here/ among the Chané and Chiriguano. On the other hand, the dishes are Ee [262] terribly monotonous. They consist of maize in every possible form, cooked maize, roasted maize, maize bread baked in ashes, maize flour porridge, and /189/ steamed maize flour. The latter is prepared in an apparatus illustrated here (Fig. 92).

/243 cont./

(Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair remover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of the plateau by the Spanish.

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Güarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

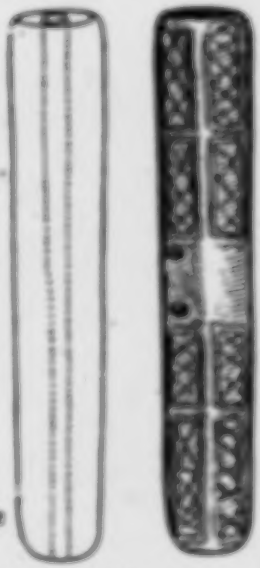


Fig. 120. Serire pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

/344 cont./

Of the various industries, pottery stands particularly high among the Chiriguano and Chané (see the illustration). They are also skilled weavers and decorators of calabashes. Basketry occurs, but chiefly in the northern part of their region. Feather work is no longer done at the present time. Only ropes and fish nets, and on the Rio Parapiti hammocks and carrying nets, are made with caraguata bast. The bags of this material, so characteristic of the Chaco tribes, are never made by the Chiriguano and Chané, but are occasionally acquired by trade between the tribes.

Among the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro I followed the making

Fig. 121. Clay vessel. Chiriguano. Caipipendi valley. 1/4.

of pots. The clay is ground and mixed with pounded, fired potsherds, so that the vessel does not fall apart during the firing. The clay vessels are built up out of rolls in customary Indian fashion. For smoothing a mussel shell or a maize cob without kernels, as well as a narrow little bamboo stick, is used. The maize cobs make parallel, fine scratches (1). The bamboo stick

1. From similar scratches on clay vessels which one finds in archaeological diggings, one can see that the makers of the clay vessels had maize. I have seen this, for

C
Ce
343
182
171
231

/18 cont./ Their Purpose
today among the Chiriguano and Chané, as well as among the Matako and Churupí, is primarily to protect certain provisions against the numerous dogs and other domestic animals who are around in great number in every part of the town (74).

74. Concerning the question of the purpose of houses built upon posts with respect to damage by animals, cf. v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 192-198.

C
Ce
433
224
226

Food and Drink. Manner of Eating and Drinking.

Hunting and fishing are not very important in the economy of the Chiriguano and Chané. Their territory has relatively few edible animals, and they are not very brave hunters (75).

75. Nord. 2, p. XVI.

C
Ce
224
262

Of animals that can be hunted, they eat the puma and the jaguar, while they scorn vultures, foxes, and the meat of monkeys, so craved by other Indians (76). One contribution

C
Ce
226
184

76. Nord. 1, p. 190.

to their subsistence which is worth mentioning is that from fishing, but only for the Chiriguano and Chané who live near the upper Pilcomayo River, since that river has excellent fishing. These Indians cannot make much use of fishing in the Río Grande, because today this river can be held to be almost the frontier of their territory. The Parapití River has many fish, but they are very small. While the Chané today live in territories where for several months some fish are available, many Chiriguano towns are so far from the larger streams that fish does not enter into the diet of their inhabitants (77). With

77. Nord. 2, pp. XV and XVI.

/86 cont./

C 178 565 648 Ce [178] [648] [643] The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

C 565 554 643 511 433 any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such C 184 433 a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is 178 643 [461] [476] [464] distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 462 Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of C [562] labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting